11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

feather pendants that were suspended from either ear, the attachment of which was the central purpose of the *Jogunduwalapitan*. Feathers from five species of birds were used in the ornamentation, and each type of feather could be attached only by the *Kwili*, *Akai*, *Chonpin*, and *Parawé* clans, and those of the martin by the *Widow* clan. The *Karo* clan and subclan, the *Kao* subclan, and the *Waro* clan and subclan used the feathers of the red macaw; the *Kabi* clan attached parrot feathers; and the *Bawis* clan contributed those of the guvido toucan. Those clans sharing the same feathers were always linked within the same phratry, and the appropriate bird species was usually an eponymous clan spirit of at least one of the groups.

The feather pendants could be no longer than the hair on the trophy head. For this reason, long-haired victims were especially prized and a woman's head was highly valued, although it was thought more valorous to kill an enemy warrior.

The sponsorship of these ceremonies was not the only duty of the taker of the trophy head. The social and religious role of the *Dajebosbi* had certain unceremonial aspects that were, nonetheless, part of the larger ritual complex of warfare and head-hunting. Upon his return to the home village, the successful warrior assumed an exhalted status that endowed his person with an almost sacred aura and isolated him from normal relations with his fellow Mundurucú. Sexuality was considered especially dangerous both to the *Dajebosbi* and to his wife. They were enjoined against indulging in sexual intercourse with each other or with anyone else throughout the ceremonial period. The *Dajebosbi* could lose his power and fall into the previously discussed state of bad luck merely by looking at a pepi, or waiting woman, and for this reason he always bathed very early to avoid meeting one on the path to the stream. Moreover, he was expected to have minimal contact with or sight of women other than his wife. Even she posed a threat to his special status, and they ate sitting back to back.

The *Dajebosbi* was expected to maintain a decorous and restrained attitude at all times. He spent much of his time lying in his hammock and gazing upward to avoid the contaminating sight of men who had recently had coitus. He could talk to the other men, but only on serious topics; trivial conversation and joking were considered inappropriate to his ceremonial position. Although he slept in the men's house, the *Dajebosbi* did not partake of the communal meals there and ate only with his wife. But he was expected to be generous toward the other men and to keep tobacco under his hammock at all times for their use.

In addition to his ceremonial role, the *Dajebosbi* had an important function in the religious aspect of the hunting economy. His person and the trophy were thought pleasing to the Mother of the Game, and he brought the head into the forest whenever a hunting party embarked. The *Dajebosbi* did not, however, hunt nor did he accompany the other men. His mere proximity was sufficient to insure a good kill, and after two animals were slain he returned to the village. It was believed that if he were to remain longer in the forest he might step in the blood of a game animal and thereby lose the charm of the head.

The wife of the *Dajebosbi* occupied a delicate status also. Like her husband, she

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karókó*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tubó) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karókó ejrurit*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tubó resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Waró* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Ibi* and *Bapaem* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nuclei of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Waró*, *Ibi*, or *Bapaem* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Munduruú who might happen to be in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 534 779 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to be placated by playing the instruments and presenting them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karökö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 [591] Clan ownership of the karökö and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residency is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Witum*, *Wakú*, and *Karú* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *wardmop*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *uchaim*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karú* subclan, *Kabé*, *Arú*, *Yurí*, and *Iíi* clans of the Red moiety. *Yurí* and *Iíi* are linked by common recognition of *apat*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karú* subclan and *Arú* are affiliated through common recognition of the yarökpökpökpöka, a bird; *Kabé* and *Arú* are affiliated through

614 615 776

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Munduruc SQ13

kumrí, a tree; and *Arú* and *Yuri* find a bond in *ñúnja*, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the *Saw* clan may bestow the name *Muri* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kirúli* clan of the White moiety and the *Waró*, *Saw*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kokusuut*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan half is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

614 174 615 then it may be surmised that Munduruc clans have undergone a basic process of segmentation. That such a process continued into recent centuries is indicated by the incomplete differentiation of these four clans. If it can be supposed that the four subclans would in time become increasingly independent of the parent group and would eventually assume their own names and taboo while maintaining a more nebulous bond through the common "companion" spirits, the end result would be a phratric alliance. There is no definitive proof for this hypothesis, but such a process is the only unitary explanation of the phenomena of phratries and subclans. The data given by informants on the relation between clans, phratries, and the spirit "companions of the trumpets" are irregular. Certain clans that should logically be linked by common spirits were said by informants to be unaffiliated; others were placed within the same phratry where no grounds for such linkage exist. This unevenness is reminiscent of the problems encountered by students of Pueblo clan and phratry organization. Depopulation and the weakening of broader kin groupings have obscured the intricacies of the system, making reconstruction most difficult. But the Munduruc data do show a pronounced tendency toward consistency between phratric affiliation and shared "companion" spirits.

121 591 614 174 The creation of new clans by the internal segmentation of old ones has numerous parallels in other societies. Patrilineal clans frequently segment under conditions of an expanding population, which causes lineages to break off and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. The offshoot group in time becomes differentiated from the parent unit and may establish itself as a new clan, although maintaining some symbolic representation of its former connection. Such a budding proc-